

LIBERATION

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The NDFP is the revolutionary united front organization of the Filipino people fighting for national freedom and for the democratic rights of the people. Established on April 24, 1973, the NDFP seeks to develop and coordinate all progressive classes, sectors and forces in the Filipino people's struggle to end the rule of US imperialism and its local allies, and attain national and social liberation.



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ABOUT THE COVER

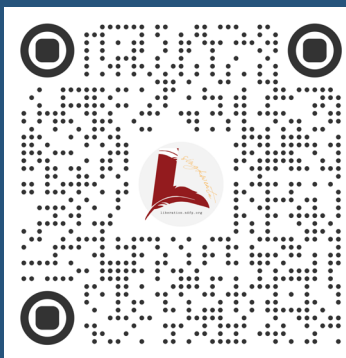
Ang Gabay (The Guide) depicts the Filipino people's vision and aspirations of a nation that is sovereign, democratic, just, and prosperous.

As the NDFP celebrates its 50th anniversary on April 24, 2023, we also celebrate the victories we have won, including the benefits of the people from the revolutionary struggle as embodied in the CPP's *Program for the People's Democratic Revolution* (PPDR) and the NDFP's *12-Point Program*. As we advance the struggle for the completion of the national democratic revolution through people's war, we look forward to its victory so we may fully realize this vision and the people's aspirations.

Revolutionary artist Granahé crafted *Ang Gabay* using the art of paper quilling.

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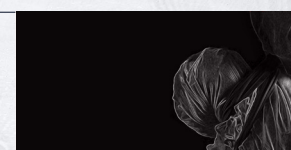
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VIVA NDFP!

On April 24, 2023, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) celebrates a half century of valiant struggles since its founding in 1973.

In various places today where the revolutionary movement has taken root, memories are being rekindled, martyrs are honored, commitments find new vigor, and revolutionary mass organizations gear for more action.

The establishment of the NDFP was a defining moment in the Filipino people's struggles. Awakened people from various classes and sectors decided to support and participate in armed revolution aimed not only at overthrowing a tyrannical regime but also at fundamentally transforming an oppressive and exploitative semifeudal and semicolonial system holding sway in the country.



Forced underground when Marcos Sr declared martial law, the mass organizations electrified by the First Quarter Storm committed to align themselves with the people's democratic revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines and spearheaded by its military arm, the New People's Army (NPA).

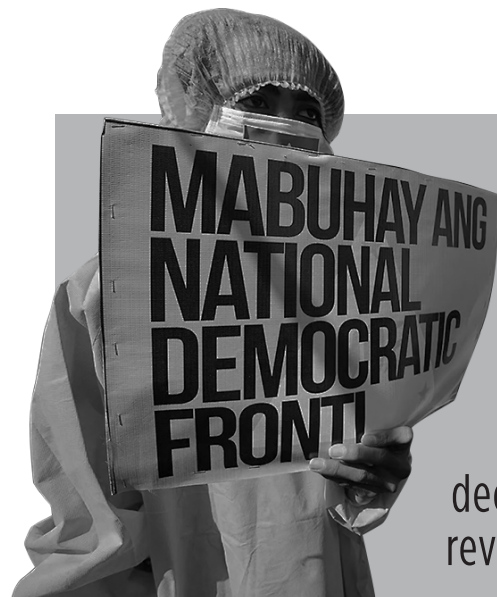
Since then the NDFP has stayed unstoppable: millions of Filipinos have joined the existing member-revolutionary organizations or formed new ones, bound by the 12-point program.

Despite the most brutal attacks and criminal slander by the succession of reactionary regimes, the NDFP has withstood and survived them all.

Undeniably, there have been considerable personal sacrifices and martyrdoms, which the NDFP appropriately values and honors!

Perseveringly, the united front has steadily grown—expanding and consolidating its ranks not just in the Philippines but also among Filipinos abroad. The brutal armed attacks and the accompanying red-scare, red-tagging, and anti-communist hysteria have failed to stop the NDFP in its tracks. At every turn, and for decades now, the reactionary forces have tried in vain to break up or crush the united front supporting the people's protracted armed struggle.





Why have the reactionaries failed? Simply because the people that the NDFP faithfully serves have not relented on their support for the revolutionary struggle. Their goals are embodied in the NDFP program. And, through the decades, they have felt the benefits from the revolutionary struggle.


Among these are the palpable fruits of genuine land reform such as agricultural productivity, jobs and livelihood; boons from democratic self-governance such as basic education, equitable justice, basic social services, observance of people's rights, respect for women and the national minorities, and safeguarding the environment. That the people have to resort to armed struggle just to attain these goals—live decently, freely, and peacefully—speaks of why and how they reject the rotten economic and political system run by the ruling elites.

Whether the reactionaries admit it or not, the revolutionary forces represented by the NDFP remain the strongest,

broadest, and most organized armed opposition to past and present reactionary regimes. And for this reason, the reactionaries are most fearful of their nascent power. Hence there is no let-up in counter-revolutionary wars that have ranged from so-called low-intensity conflict to whole-of-nation approach. And as earlier noted, despite some losses and setbacks, the NDFP and the masses have persevered in struggle. For so long as the same socio-economic conditions exist, the reactionary state shall be faced—as it has—with new and more generations of revolutionaries.

Far from being a terrorist, the NDFP has practically gained the status of belligerency which had compelled the reactionary government

to respond to the people's demand for peace talks. But experience shows since the late 1980s, while the NDFP has remained serious about peace negotiations towards a just and lasting peace, the reactionary state has not. But it is amply clear that the use of armed force and deceit to demonize the NDFP will ever fall flat on the face of the state. As it was, as it is, as it will be.

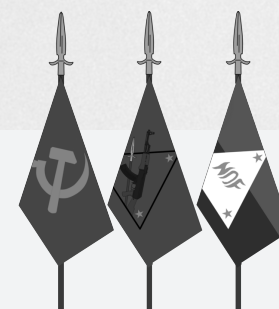
After more than 50 years, it is still a long and hard struggle. But all the difficulties, sacrifices, and the blood of our martyrs will be constant reminders to current and future generations that the revolutionary spirit—coupled with the unstinting support of the masses—will be our ticket to victory, to achieving our liberation as a nation. 

MAINSTREAM

11 THINGS YOU MIGHT WANT TO KNOW ABOUT THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT OF THE PHILIPPINES



by *Vida Gracias*



The CPP-NPA-NDFP is not one and the same organization.

1

These are three distinct organizations, even as they have the same political objective of winning the people's democratic revolution in order to overthrow the semifeudal and semicolonial system in the Philippines and set up a socialist system.

2

The NDFP is the umbrella, the underground alliance, of all existing revolutionary organizations that are pursuing the national-democratic line with a socialist perspective.

Revolutionary organizations from various classes and sectors—such as the Revolutionary Council of Trade Unions for workers, *Kabataang Makabayan* for the youth, *Makibaka* for women, Christians for National Liberation for religious people, KAGUMA for teachers, MASAPA for health workers and professionals, and of course, the CPP and the NPA. These organizations unite to pursue the NDFP’s 12-point program that contains the legitimate aspirations of the Filipino people for peace, prosperity, and a just society.



3

The CPP is a member of the NDFP at the same time the leading organization in the alliance.

The CPP is the most advanced revolutionary organization within the alliance in terms of carrying out the theory and practice of people’s war in the Philippines. Other member-organizations look up to the CPP for theoretical guidance, lessons and experiences, dedication, and perseverance in the struggle.



4

The NPA, which is under the absolute leadership of the CPP, is the only armed revolutionary organization in the NDFP.

The NPA is the main revolutionary organization within the NDFP, composed largely of peasants who are most desirous of resolving the land problem which is at the root of the armed revolution. The NPA carries out armed struggle guided by the principle that at all times, politics must rule the gun.



5

The highest governing body of the NDFP is the General Assembly (GA) composed of the representatives from each member-organization. A National Council is elected from among the representatives in the Assembly, or in absentia, as the situation may require.

Security restrictions have limited the regular meetings of the General Assembly. The National Council and/or its Executive Committee may take over to issue calls and implement decisions upon consultation with member organizations.



philippinerevolution.nu

6

Decisions in the NDFP are through consensus.

Each member-revolutionary organization is self-acting and autonomous. Thus, within the NDFP decisions are made through consensus and become binding to all member-organizations. Outside of the decisions of the NDFP the member-organizations continue to carry out their own programs for the masses they served.

7

Contrary to lies peddled by the reactionary state, legal mass organizations are not members of the NDFP.



Certain legal mass organizations may be progressive and may call themselves national-democratic, too. However, they operate under the State's jurisdiction and bound by its rules, hence they carry out their objectives through popular protests or unarmed struggle. But the NDFP, being outside of the legal system, openly calls for armed revolution and sets up its own people's democratic state. This is what differentiates the NDFP from legal mass organizations. In short, neither sympathy nor seeming likeness nor respect for the NDFP is synonymous to membership.

8

Neither are legal mass organizations “fronts” of or “infiltrated” by the NDFP forces.

To “infiltrate” is to put malice on the word. Revolutionaries are practically everywhere as they are common people. They have as much right as anyone to become a legitimate part of any legal organization for as long as they believe in its constitution and program. The NDFP does not make “fronts” of legal organizations. Calling these organizations as “fronts” disrespects the right of the masses to organize and seek redress of grievances and could be made an excuse to set the stage for their repression by the state.

9

Membership in NDFP organizations is individual, informed, and voluntary.

No one is ever forced to join an NDFP-allied organization. If so, that would have already been self-destructive and would not make the NDFP reach its 50th year. Individual recruits or invitees to any of the member-organizations are well-informed of principles and program before they even pledge membership to the organization of their choice. Leaving the organization is likewise voluntary. As NDFP member-organizations operate in secret especially in the cities, the true identities of individual members are hidden from the enemies. In the countryside where revolutionaries operate freely NDFP allied organizations and their members are usually known by the people.

10

The NDFP serves as framework for establishing revolutionary organs of governance.

These organs of political power (OPP)—at the municipal, district, provincial levels—are the seeds of the people's democratic government (PDG). Even at this stage, these organs of political power already administer justice and implement social services for the masses in guerrilla zones. The NDFP represents the organs of political power in establishing proto-diplomatic relations with states and other international agencies. It also represents the OPP in peace negotiations with the GRP since 1986.



ITULOY ANG
PEACE TALKS!

11

The NDFP definitely wants peace.

The entire NDFP has been painted by state forces as “terrorist”. Despite the attacks and demonization, the NDFP has never turned its back on the peace talks that it has committed to pursue. Now on its 50th year, the NDFP continues to respond positively to the sustained calls—by various peace advocacy groups, institutions, organizations, and known personalities—for resuming and completing the GRP-NDFP peace talks towards attaining a just and lasting peace in the country. 📌

REAPING GAINS

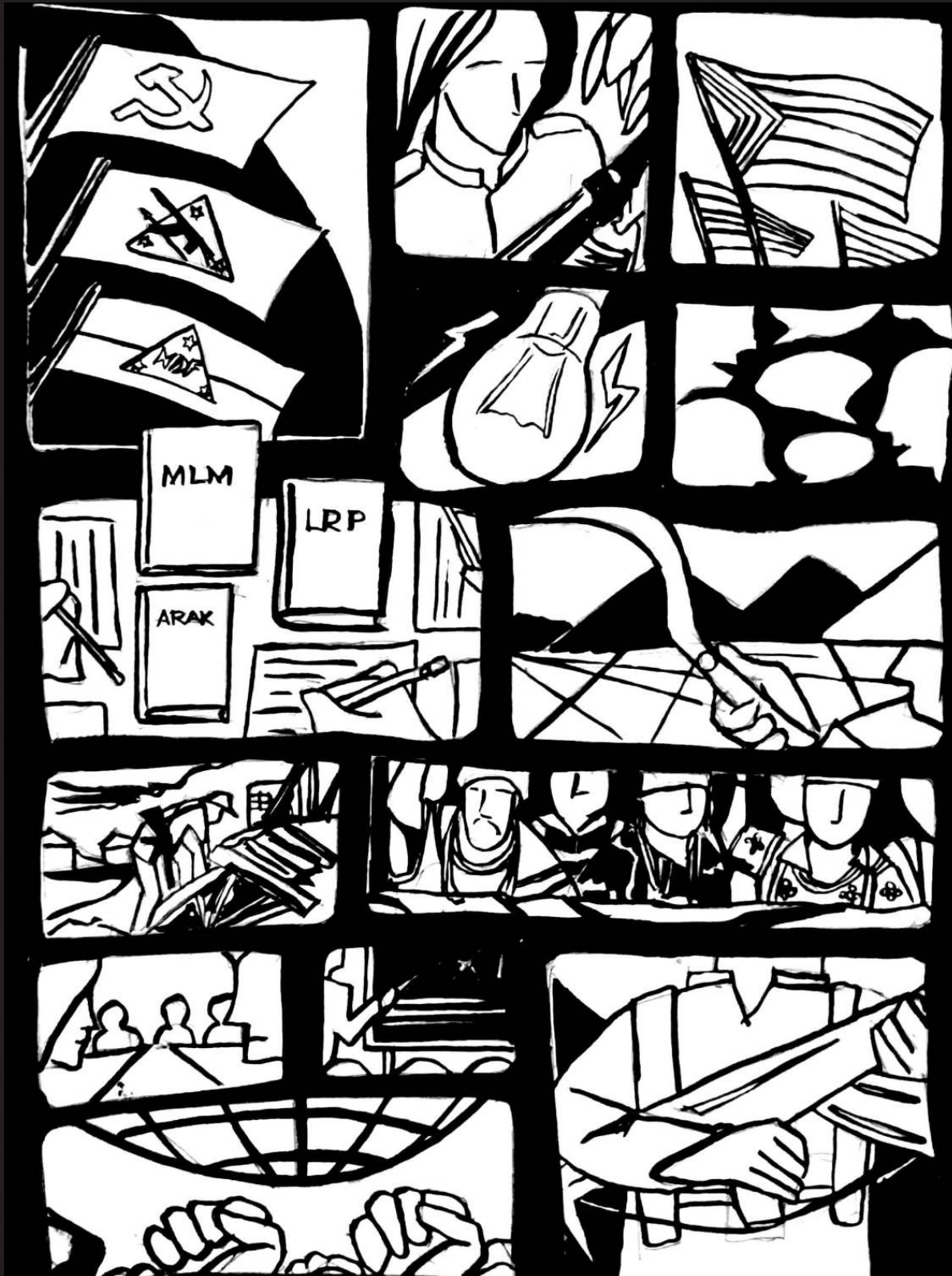
Towards more victories

by Pinky Ang

In more than five decades of fighting exploitation and oppression, all the activists, Red fighters, critics, supporters and sympathizers of the revolutionary struggle have achieved certain reforms that have provided immediate benefit to the masses. The lessons learned in the course of expanding mass organizations and the mass base have contributed to the advancement of the revolution.

From these lessons we are able to set the conditions for seizing political power and building a new republic that would truly attend to the needs of the masses, free from foreign intervention, feudal and semifeudal exploitation, and corrupt bureaucrats.

Below are some “all-in-50-years-work” trails of achievements of the Philippine revolutionary movement. If you live in a city, chances are you may not know much about these, no thanks to state censorship and vilification campaign against revolutionaries. But these ongoing achievements are also dedicated to you. You have the right to know and—if you will—to join also or support the revolutionaries.





LONG LIVE THE CPP-NPA-NDFP!

The CPP's proven resilience, despite the various versions of "all-out war" that have pounded it and the masses it serves and leads, demonstrates the feasibility and acceptability of its programs to resolve the problems plaguing the people. As one comrade once said, "*Hindi tayo aabot ng singkuenta kung di tayo mahal ng masa.*" Armed with Marxism, Leninism, and Maoism, the tried and tested revolutionary theory and practice that the oppressed people of the world can apply to change their conditions, the Filipino revolutionaries have blazed a trail in waging a communist revolution in the Philippine semifeudal and semicolonial conditions.



WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

Although our people's war is still at the strategic-defensive stage, it has already contributed to the global anti-imperialist struggle, establishing links with liberation movements and anti-imperialist formations. When the imperialist paid hacks and mercenaries are spreading gloom and doom with their desperate claims against history being written by the masses, let us celebrate and hopefully expand further our contributions to anti-imperialist struggles, our stand versus modern revisionism, and our developing theory and practice of people's war.



CAPACITY TO FORGE AHEAD AS REVOLUTIONARIES

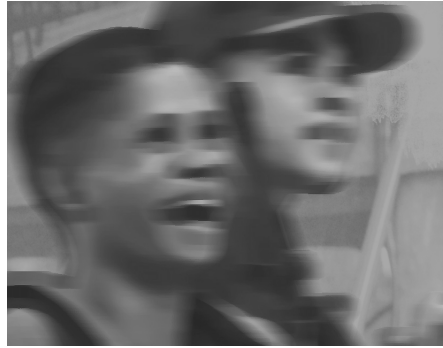
Revolutionary collectives and organizations unite based on clearly defined principles. Members and leaders have equal rights regardless of age, gender preferences, educational attainment, and length of stay or service in the organization. Members and leaders continue to be loyal to the principles of the organization, conscious of what it seeks to achieve and willing to own up, learn from mistakes or dish out and accept criticisms for self-improvement, and also of the revolutionary practice and organizations.



ACTUAL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

At the core of the revolutionary mass base-building is empowerment of the people through mass organizations and organs of political power. In revolutionary guerrilla zones the

people practice genuinely democratic elections. Candidates come from mass leaders who have been honed in the day-to-day struggles and who the masses have seen or experienced working with through mass campaigns. The elections of leaders of organs of political power are conducted with transparency: the leaders elected are the most active and/or tried and tested leaders from the mass organizations of youth, students, women, peasants, and workers, professionals such as teachers and health workers, church people and other groups the masses have worked with in the course of implementing land reform and other campaigns toward base-building.



RESPECTING SELF-DETERMINATION AND CLOSELY WORKING WITH NATIONAL MINORITIES

The national minorities in this country have their own socio-political systems, but the Marxist's concrete analysis of concrete conditions allowed it to unite the national minorities while respecting and joining them in the fight for self-determination. More than the ordinary peasants' war for land reform and support services, the national democratic revolution is a revolution to reclaim the national minorities' right to self-determination, protection of their ancestral domain, and self-governance based on their own socio-political systems.



LAND REFORM

In the history of land reform programs in the Philippines, only the revolutionary movement has implemented a genuine land reform benefiting the peasantry. Resolving landlessness is the main content of the national democratic revolution, where peasants comprise its main force. To the CPP, NPA and the NDFP, land reform is a prerequisite to successfully push for national industrialization and uplift the lives of the poor majority. Agrarian revolution is among the three component tasks of the NPA, along with mass-base building and armed struggle.



WOMEN EMPOWERMENT AND RESPECT FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE LGBTQI+

The macho and chauvinist tradition fostered in the semicolonial and semifeudal Philippines is something the national democratic revolutionaries have been consciously pointing out and correcting among themselves, in their day-to-day habits at work in communities and mass organizations where they belong. Many members of the LGBTQI+ community have joined and supported the revolution, where they are encouraged and supported to pursue their gender preferences. Same-sex marriages and romantic relationships between adults are legal and binding among the members of Communist Party of the Philippines.

The New People's Army have had many notable commanders and officials from among women and members of the LGBTQI+ community, long before the reactionary armed forces started to open its military schools to women (they have yet to openly welcome and duly respect gays, lesbians and queers in their ranks).



RIGHT TO DIVORCE

In revolutionary zones and among members of the revolutionary mass movement, they are serious toward ensuring respect of women and LGBTQI+, such that they have policies outlined in the document *On the Relation of the Sexes* (ORS). For revolutionaries, fostering one's humanity and achieving one's potentials as they perform their tasks are enhanced and supported also by meaningful relationships. But it also recognizes the right to divorce after careful collective assessments of the involved parties.

In the guerrilla zones in the countryside, members of the people's army which also perform cultural and socio-economic duties have been requested by mass organizations to help settle marital conflicts of couples approaching them for advice.



SOCIAL SERVICES IN REMOTE VILLAGES

SPREAD OF LITERACY AND NUMERACY AMONG THE PEOPLE

Revolutionary mass base-building develops as its people and resources develop. As such, the task is inextricably linked to better or more appropriate people's education, and the CPP, through the NPA and the NDFP allied organizations, strive to help the masses pursue relevant education. Locals who can read and write are obviously sharper citizens and professionals, fighters, and activists. They contribute better at analyzing and improving the situation at workplaces, schools, and communities, advancing the interests of the masses and protecting the gains of the revolutionary mass movement.

ELECTRIFICATION

Depending on the capacities and programs of guerrilla zones, they have put up and experimented with appropriate and sustainable technology benefiting villages. In far-flung areas, mass organizations have brainstormed and implemented various ways for irrigation, bringing potable water to communities, sharing milling equipment and in some villages they have even put up some community-based electrification projects.

RELIEF AND REHABILITATION IN DISASTER AREAS

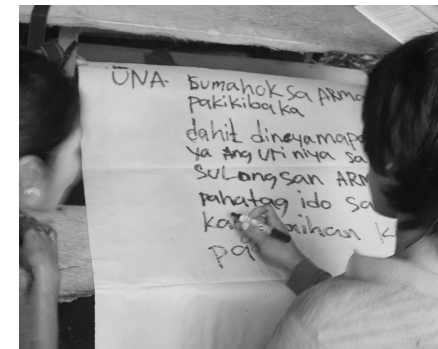
Closely working and living with the masses, the revolutionaries have both been surviving with the people and providing leadership to help the masses face typhoons and disasters by harnessing their collective strength. The people have been mobilizing immediate relief and rescue operations and pushing for appropriate rehabilitation, honing their disaster preparedness and engaging various groups as well as the government to raise the issue of genuine disaster preparedness. Relying on the reactionary state, disasters would only get more frequent and destructive and the people would be wholly left to fend for themselves, to become excuses for corruption and for increased deployment of reactionary troops.

The experience of the revolutionaries and the masses in surviving super-typhoon Pablo in 2012 is emblematic of what the revolutionary movement can do and the lowest of the low the reactionaries can sink into.

TRADITIONAL MEDICINES AND TREATMENT, NPA MEDICS

The NPA double as people's medics, holding medical missions and treating the sick as they move from one village to the next. They change the villages' healthcare and long-term lack of access to health services. The NPA through the medics in their ranks and the members of MASAPA (*Makabayang Samahang Pangkalusugan*) who trained them have eventually helped the villages form and enable their health committees. MASAPA is an allied organization of the NDFP. They train the NPA and the masses on health and medical work and provide direct health services to Party members, the Red fighters, and masses in guerrilla fronts.

(Read: "Health Services Benefit Peasants, Indigenous Peoples in Guerrilla Fronts," liberation.ndfp.org, published on January 9, 2018)



DEVELOPMENT AND POPULARIZATION OF THE FILIPINO LANGUAGE


Precisely because the national democratic revolution is sustained by the masses, their languages and ways of speaking are indispensable at reflecting their common plight, calls, and in building unities. As such the revolutionary movement, without consciously trying for the sake of it, also happens to be contributing much to documenting and actively using and enriching the Filipino languages. In the hands of the revolutionaries and progressives, these languages precisely deliver real news, artworks, analyses, guides and lessons in facing problems from the levels of communities to towns, regions, national and international. The revolutionaries' official publication *Ang Bayan* (AB) is issued in English, Filipino and other major languages in the Philippines. Regional publications and other propaganda and educational materials of the revolutionaries also help promote local languages while popularizing Filipino as the national language.



CREATIVITY OF THE MASSES

In the five decades of the national democratic revolution, so much creativity of the masses has been unleashed. These are expressed not only through arts and literature, through the skits, plays and songs being performed during

gatherings, special occasions, and meetings, through the graphics and social media memes; through catchy slogans and avalanches of satires. In fact, the numerous ways the masses join and support the revolution have also stimulated their creativity— these have found expressions in waging a protracted war in an archipelagic country and navigating through treacherous puppet administrations. Expending efforts to reach out to the rest of the 99%, to launch campaigns in land reform, campaigns in bringing aid, relief and rehabilitation in times of natural and human-made disasters, all these have stoked the Filipino masses' creativity in manner and forms of organizations and holding mass actions.

Waging the national democratic revolution with socialist perspective and the numerous undertakings of the mass movement toward creating a just and prosperous society are indeed stoking the people's highest expressions of creativity. 



Manong Tony Zumel, Fidel Agcaoili, and Jose Maria Sison

The NDFP's

Three Wise Men of Peace

by Joven Filimon

The place many *kasamas* fondly call as “baryo” is still pitch dark, fast asleep and eerily silent. But the beautiful sight of colorful flowers springing out from the earth amid the chilly weather that envelop them signals a renewed hope. And there is joy of anticipation when the sun will start to peek at the horizon and unleash the riot of sounds and motion that will shatter the peace and quiet of the dark night of the flatlands many have learned—exiles, refugees, migrant workers, tourists, and sojourners alike—to be their second, permanent even, home.

And when dawn breaks, the arduous plodding of political work in the NDFP office in Barrio Utrecht in The Netherlands, thousands of miles away from the homeland, continues and is infectious and furious, even as the Three Wise Men of Peace—Manong, Fidel, and Joe—are resting in peace now. They who had survived torture and detention all but succumbed to sickness.

And yet the fondest of memories and the wisdom of their insights, the clarity of their counsel, and the lessons they have imparted over the years pervade this place where many a brainstorming, tacticizing, drafting, planning, tasking, and assessing took place, contradictions and struggle of ideas and unity in line and all. Their candid and iconic portraits in a hallowed corner a fitful reminder that they are still and will always be with us.

Yes, these Three Wise Men of Peace have different personalities and different strokes but they were essentially in cadence towards the goal of addressing the roots of the armed conflict via the parallel and complementary route of the peace process and negotiations with the enemy.

There is Manong, who amiably addresses us as “Bong” in his inimitable soft, gentle, and kind voice. Then already weakened by sickness but still sharp in mind, he would silently and intently listen to the internal discussions and occasionally interject his wise views and opinion at significant points, drawing from his rich experience as one of the negotiators during the peace talks in 1986.

Ever so disarmingly humble and soft-spoken and exhibiting the most affectionate concern for every *kasama* whoever she or he is, Manong continued to meticulously edit and copyread drafts of statements and proposed drafts of agreements even when he was at sick bay.





And there is Fidel, who continued to be called by and to call *kasamas* “Bok” in his hoarse and peculiar shrill voice. Ever so loud and audible all over the place, he was seen as the “operator” and “broker” of many a bilateral meeting or negotiation, both formal and informal, open or discreet. He would bring with him the marching orders, as it were, of the unified position of the NDFP negotiating team. He would himself take on the humongous task passed on to him by another wise man of peace: LJ or Ka Louie to most of us.

Fidel would be the “bad cop” who would cut down to size any arrogant or patronizing member on the other side of the negotiating table with his passionate articulation and candid remonstrations against the duplicity and unreasonableness of the other party’s audacious proposals, drafts, and

responses during the peace negotiations.

A severely tortured and long-held political detainee himself, Fidel would at every juncture and opportunity fight for the freedom and justice for the political prisoners. And he can be thorough and meticulous.



And of course, there is our Joe, Joma, “*lolo*” or “*tanda*” to one and all—the guiding light, chief steward, and the problem solver. He came to be known even by the other side and the Third Party Facilitator as the “good cop” of the peace negotiations, with his unique nasal voice and boisterous laughter (when he is not intensely serious and caustic in his colorful language).

With his eloquence and masterful grasp of language, line, lyrics, and levity, he has practically steered the negotiations into its correct direction, successfully compelling the other party into producing and agreeing to seminal and landmark agreements and statements.


Quick and sharp in his analysis, prolific in drafting statements and tweaking proposed agreements, Joma speed reads and breezes through both short and voluminous documents. He marshalls the facts and draws from history and events with phenomenal memory when he supports and argues his superior ideas on various issues in the course of the peace negotiations.

Joma would doggedly hold on and ensure the revolutionary integrity of the movement, express the bilateral and reciprocal nature of the peace negotiations, remind one and all the bigger picture and unique value and significance of the peace negotiations in the overall struggle for liberation even with its inherent nature and built-in limitations.

Joe would be known and acknowledged even by the other side as “reasonable” and flexible in tactics yet firm in basic principles. He would initiate or push for advanced drafts of documents, write or give pointers to drafters and negotiators and vet with an eagle eye every word and punctuation mark in the paperchase of the negotiations.

These are our Three Wise Men of Peace. They are not physically in our midst anymore but their advise, counsel, guidance, work, example and inspiration would determine and define in large measure the course and conduct of any future negotiations to address the reasons why there is an ongoing armed conflict and why the people and comrades continue to take up arms, and carry the torch in waging a just war.

Rest in peace, our dearest Three Wise Men of Peace.

Even as we will not rest as we seek a just and lasting peace. 



****EDITOR'S NOTE:**

Manong Tony Zumel was the first Chairperson of the NDFP under the *nom de guerre* Manuel Romero. He held the position from 1990 to 1994. As chairperson, Zumel signed the the NDFP's Declaration of Adherence to International Humanitarian Law in 1991. He became NDFP honorary chairperson and senior adviser to the NDFP negotiating panel from 1994 until his death in August 2001.

Fidel Agcaoli was vice chairperson of the NDFP peace panel since it was set up in 1994. He headed the NDFP Reciprocal Working Committee for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law and later co-chaired the Joint Monitoring Committee (JMC) with the GRP representative. JMC is a mechanism created to oversee violations in the implementation of the CARHRIHL. Fidel became the chairperson of the peace panel in 2016. Fidel passed away in July 2020.

Jose Maria Sison was the founder of the Communist Party of the Philippines. He worked with both Zumel and Agcaoli since the 70s in preparing for the establishment of the NDFP. He served as Chief Political Consultant to the NDFP Peace Negotiating Panel in the peace talks with the GRP until the time of his demise in December 2022.

FROM THE ARCHIVES



**First published in Liberation, April 2005*

by Toni Hernandez

A smile formed on the face of the man sitting in front of us, his eyes full of memories. We decided to call him Tony in this interview. He was a member of the original NDF Preparatory Committee (PrepCom) that helped prepare the grounds for the establishment of the NDFP.

According to Tony, there were originally at least eight PrepCom members: journalists Antonio Zumel and Satur Ocampo, student leader Voltaire Garcia, *Dumaguete Times* publisher Hermie Garcia, Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) founder Jose Ma. Sison, a representative of the trade union sector and two oldest members who came from the old CPP, Angel Baking and Sammy Rodriguez. Later, other persons would be added to the group, including Dr. Dante Simbulan, a former teacher at the Philippine Military Academy (PMA).



Satur Ocampo and Antonio Zumel

According to Tony, the PrepCom's first meeting was held in Malabon, at Voltaire's house. They had several extensive meetings, he said, to discuss the concept of the NDFP and its program. Some of them were held in churches, allies' houses in Southern Tagalog, as well as in a rented house in Baguio. "I look at it every time I go up there. I couldn't help myself," Tony said. "It is along the highway, just before you enter the city proper."

"Many documents were written in that house, including much of Joma's PSR (Philippine Society and Revolution)," he said.

The meetings were obviously precious for him, and some of them he could still clearly remember. A regular meeting, he said, would surely consume the whole day. Once, when they were discussing the NDFP draft Program, they met for two days and one night straight.

Tony described Rodriguez, Baking, and Hermie Garcia as the serious ones. Rodriguez and Baking (the "oldies"), being the most experienced, would cite lessons from the old Party and debate on issues most of the time. Simbulan, he said, he would always remember for his anecdotes on life as a PMA instructor.

"*Syempre pinakamakwento't matsismis 'yung si Joma,*" Tony said. He recalled how Sison's punchlines would break the seriousness in the meetings and bring laughter to the group. "*Ganoon naman talaga yun. Galawgaw s'ya nung estudyante s'ya.* In fact, *maraming nagtaka naging very serious s'ya* (when he got into the movement)," he said.

Zumel and Ocampo on the other hand had stories about the National Press Club. Zumel in particular had colorful stories about the late Manila Mayor Arsenio Lacson and other personalities he covered.

All PrepCom members brought their particular experiences and knowledge about Philippine society into the group, enriching their discussions and slowly giving texture and voice to the aspirations of their countrymen through the NDFP Program which they drafted.

Before Martial Law was declared, Tony described their mode of operation as "semi-UG." When Martial Law was declared, they had to be extra careful with their movements since most of them were well-known personalities. The oldies in particular always took the long route. The rest arrived individually from different areas. When traveling as a group, the journalists would usually be the ones to alight and talk when stopped at military checkpoints, presenting their press IDs.

Some of them also tried to disguise themselves. Ocampo applied hair gel, even growing his hair long at one point, prince valiant style. He also once colored it gray and even had it curled.

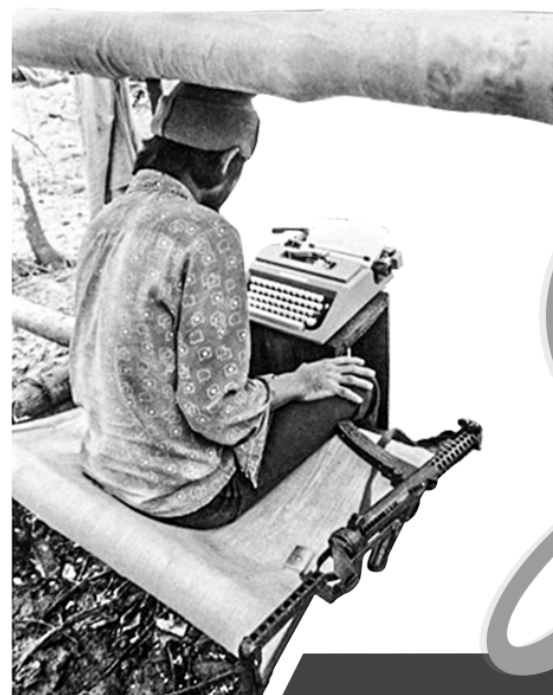
On how they moved around, Tony smiled and said, "*Paikot-ikot ka lang sa ilong ng kaaway.*"

Soon, need for cadres in other areas due to the fast expanding revolutionary work necessitated the redeployment of some of the PrepCom members. The PrepCom's composition thus changed, particularly when some of its members fell on enemy hands. This included Voltaire Garcia who died while in detention.

The NDFP and its allied organizations are now present in most of the country's 73 provinces. They are in the 130 guerrilla fronts scattered all over the country. Here, the people's democratic power, the embryo of the future government, continues to be enhanced and consolidated. Programs that benefit the masses are carried out, including programs on literacy, health care, cooperatives and livelihood programs.

It had been more than 33 years since Tony and the other members of the first NDFP PrepCom got together. The NDFP Program they drafted was officially approved on April 24, 1973, which became the official founding date of the NDFP. Its growth is testament to the correctness of building a united front organization that would bring together the different sectors of Philippine society, particularly the working class, peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie, and encourage portions of the middle forces and ruling classes in order to attain genuine national liberation and democracy. 🗨️

Interview with Uma Aguani

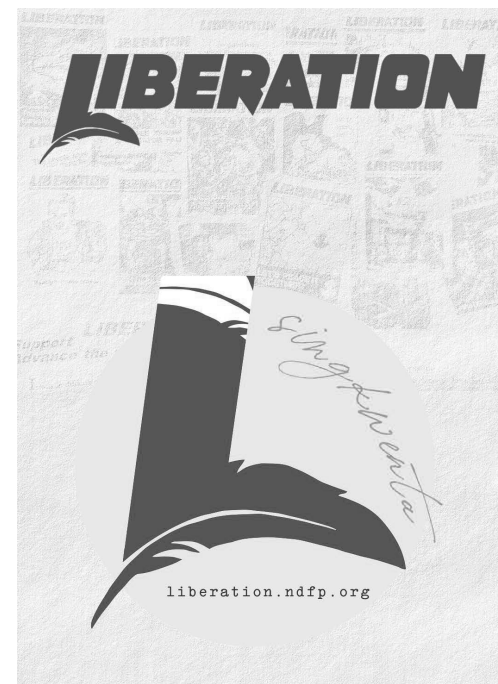


The Joys of Revolutionary Publishing

by Iliya Makalipay

We can never have enough of the “masters” of revolutionary propaganda—those who blazed the trail and/or worked for the many underground publications of the revolutionary movement. They worked far from the ease the current technology provides—typewriters, V-type silkscreen, stencils and mimeo machines—way beyond the imagination of today’s youth. They have set the standards from which the current crop of propagandists have carried on and continue to better and master.

Liberation is fortunate to have interviewed **Uma Aguani**, who wrote for various underground publications during martial law, for *Ang Bayan*, the longest, and with the best writers and editors the movement could have, among them, journalist Antonio “Manong Tony” Zumel, who also became senior adviser of the NDFP negotiating panel. Uma is also staff of *Liberation International*, the publication of the Information Office of the NDFP-International.



<https://bit.ly/3mq9rNF>

This interview is part of a series of articles on propaganda work started by *Liberation* on its 50th anniversary issue as contribution to the efforts of the revolutionary movement to continuously improve its propaganda work to reach out to the broad masses—to arouse, organize, and mobilize them for the national democratic revolution. It takes more meaning as the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) celebrates its 50th founding anniversary amid the unabated crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system, making the propagation of its 12-point program of the national democratic revolution urgent and necessary—Ed.

LESSONS FROM THE UNDERGROUND NEWSROOM

All throughout the interview, Uma Aguani underscored the importance of the collective in all aspects of propaganda work, specifically in coming out publications such as *Ang Bayan* (AB) or *Liberation*.

The collective is very important, said Aguani. To quote one *kasama* (comrade): “What sets our revolutionary newsroom apart is that everyone assumed responsibility for the entire process (and for each other too). Each one worked on an individual assignment while critiquing and contributing to the articles of everyone else. Each article that found print was a collective product and everyone in the unit acknowledged this as fact.

Among their articles, Uma remembered the stories about mass work and integration, experiences of *kasamas* in organizing, life in the countryside, the peculiar situation and experiences of migrant workers, and the life in guerrilla zones and tactical operations of the New People’s Army were popular among readers. Interviews among revolutionaries also proved to be hits.

Here’s the full interview with Uma Aguani.

Liberation: What was it like to be in a UG news room?

Uma Aguani: There were a lot of discussions on how to handle an article or an editorial, what to focus on, what issues must be raised, how to handle information and data. Sometimes the discussions were heated especially if it concerned principles, strategy, and tactics. But at the end of the meeting, these were usually resolved.

Press work, of course, included choosing what articles to put out and what angle or focus to use. Articles were then assigned to individual members. Draft articles were submitted for editing, copyreading, proofreading, etc. We collectively edited the articles. After all the articles had been finalized, we typed them on stencils for distribution to different regions. Depending on the capacity of the regions, these were printed through V-type silkscreen or mimeographing machines.

In our case, a room was always delegated as the press room/working room where the typewriters, mimeo machine, V-type stencils and files were kept. But most of the time the members of the team do their writing in their own rooms or in a favorite spot in the house.

TYPEWRITERS

Our tools consisted of typewriters for writing, along with mimeo machine and silkscreen for printing.

But the typewriter, with all its tick, click, and clack was a cause of concern to all of us in the underground. Remembering it now, I was amazed by the creativity of comrades in reducing the sound of typing.

The press room was usually sound-proofed to prevent neighbors from hearing our endless typing. Once, our collective received a very old air-con that had been used in a motel owned by an ally. But instead of coming out with cold air it gives off hot air. However, we kept it turned on to diffuse the sound of the typewriters. So, one had to get out of the room from time-to-time for cooler air.

Another device to tone down typing sound was a transparent box made of wood and glass to encase the typewriter with enough space for our hands to type. It did drown the noise of typing but we needed time to get used to it because hand movements were constrained.

We were partial though in procuring and using the semi-standard Olivetti typewriter then, because the noise of the typing was not so loud, aside from the fact that we get the machine cheaper from an ally working at Olivetti.

In some instances, we had to create a story to explain the constant typing to our neighbors. One story was about Manong (Tony Zumel) being a professor on leave from his teaching and was writing a novel/book. Another was of a PhD student doing her doctoral thesis.



How did you survive the attacks of the Marcos dictatorship?

A good relationship among *kasamas* is pivotal for the collective. Each member of the collective was ever mindful of ensuring the well-being and safety of one and all. Similarly important is relying on and trusting the masses and comrades in safeguarding us from being detected and arrested by the enemy.

We were always mindful of these security rules and regulations. Following security rules was a must whether one was in the underground or aboveground. Precautions for safety and security were a must to enable everyone to effectively fulfill duties and

tasks in the movement. Paying attention to everyday news, warnings, and keenly analyzing the situation were vital.

We tried to adjust to situations we were in and made sure we fulfilled our tasks. We were very creative in responding to changes in our situations.

One thing that helped us was our integration with the masses—whether in cities, towns, or countryside. Having a good story for the neighbors when living outside the guerrilla zones and in urban areas was crucial. Members of the unit tried to relate with neighbors to avoid their curiosity. In some occasions, we even joined in the block rosary and invited neighbors to the house during special events such as fiestas. We took the initiative to be the friendly neighbor and get acquainted with the community.

Was there a time that your UG press was busted and you were arrested?

There were times when we had to hurriedly leave the house because comrades who knew the address of our staff house had been arrested. Come to think of it, problems that affected the security of the collective arose from actions of the *kasamas* who were not part of the collective but who had access to the house.

Our closest brush with getting captured by the enemy happened in the countryside. The enemy received intelligence report that a ranking commander of the people's army was in the vicinity so they launched an operation of 200 soldiers to search and cordon off the area. It was our trust in the masses and their courage and protection that helped us escape the cordon of the enemy.

We were very new to the area having arrived only a day before. Walking from one barrio to another during the night, sleeping in the *kogonan* (cogon field) and watching spotter planes do reconnaissance, then seeing armed *kasamas* approaching to pick you up from the *kogonan*—that was an experience I cannot forget. I cried when I saw the *kasamas* because I knew we would be okay and that feeling of safety engulfed me.

On the other hand, being surrounded by two companies of enemy troops was another experience altogether

and such an experience could really make you pee in your pants. But I didn't.

Also, there was a time when we were based in a city that a raiding team missed us by just two minutes. We saw the raiding team coming from the highway so *kasamas* had to jump from the back fence. One *kasama* was several months pregnant so she couldn't jump. We just had to pretend to be part of the curious neighbors that congregated in front of the street. Unfortunately, one *kasama* who was in charge of printing the publication was arrested. Even though he saw the danger signal on (we used signals around the house in those days) he entered the house because he saw the door was open. But it was too late for him. The military forces were already inside, waiting.

Manong Tony always said we had to come out with our publications even during times of arrests, raids, etc. That we should not let enemy operations interrupt our publications from being printed and distributed, because the people are waiting to hear news from the countryside, the picket lines, the communities, the victories of the people's army—and to read poetry. That is why we were very determined to print no matter the situation. And I am proud to say we did it!

What were your most cherished memories of this period?

First would be the time spent with the masses and learning from them, which was enriching. Listening to *kasamas* narrate their rich experiences in the countryside and writing stories about these to share with the readers were also precious.

In our collective, I found fulfillment in solving differences among *kasamas* to avoid these from leading to antagonism. To do this, we have to take into account the backgrounds of the *kasamas*.

I also can't forget the satisfaction one felt after seeing a printed copy of the publication. Allies eagerly waited for a copy of the publication to hear the latest news on the revolutionary movement. Our stories made them hopeful.

Funny Moments

There were many. The *kasamas* had a bagful of corny jokes. *Maraming kenkoy at jokesters sa grupo*. We loved telling anecdotes and playing tricks on one another. But our experiences in the countryside topped them all. Off-hand, I remember these:

Trying to balance a typewriter, backpack, and pots and pans but failing, then finding yourself fallen into the muddy ricefield and the *kasamas* laughing at you. You got mad at first but soon found yourself laughing with them.

Your *kubo* (hut) collapsed in the middle of the night. One would hear a deafening silence followed by chuckling and boisterous laughter that reverberated throughout the camp because *kasamas* thought you and your husband were exercising marital bliss. Truth was the *kubo* structure had weakened because it became a *tambayan* (hangout) of *kasamas* on their way to the camp kitchen or library.

Trying to shoo the pigs away while doing your morning constitution in a hillside pit latrine and the hogs waiting for their "breakfast". However, I did manage. I guess the long stick, called magic wand by *kasamas*, helped.

Watching funny movies when we were able to borrow a video player (Mel Brooks' History of the World and To Be or Not to Be, and Home Alone come to mind). You should have heard the laughter of *kasamas* while watching these films. It was really nice to see them relax. Remember we were coming out with *Ang Bayan* twice a month.

You were also part of the Liberation International (LI). Why was there an international edition of the Liberation?

I think LI came out in 1994 to project the legal and underground struggle of the people internationally. *Liberation* was not coming out then and there was a need for a publication to project the struggle especially the Second Great Rectification and the peace negotiations. There was a need to vigorously project the NDFP's agenda/program for peace.

LI's target audience were the Filipinos abroad, the solidarity community, the international movements, organizations and parties, and governments and friends we were relating with.

Was it easier to publish the LI compared to when you were still publishing in the country during martial law?

I think it was easier to publish LI because the political environment outside the country is freer. You feel a little more secure and safe. Publishing progressive and even revolutionary publications are allowed and legal. You can openly sell and/or distribute LI. But getting news, data and information on what is happening in the homefront was more difficult during the early days of LI. Also, you long for the "feel" of being where the action really is. The excitement one feels, for example, when covering a mass action/rally or a strike, demolition of urban poor communities, etc.

That's why we made it a point to interview visitors and guests and regularly read the revolutionary publications, publications of the legal mass movement and newspapers and magazines. We also have easy access to the publications of other revolutionary and/or progressive parties, movements and organizations. Staff members were able to attend/cover international conferences, seminars, political fiestas, etc. 

Best Practices

Definite schedule for issue planning and issue discussion; farming out writing assignments, and assessment of every issue.

Disciplined adherence to deadline.

Interaction with the masses to gather data on their situation and experience. This additionally inspires one to fulfill the tasks at hand.

Coming out with a **questionnaire** on the publication from time-to-time helps improve the work.

Creating an official **stylebook** of the publication.

Regular session of **Criticism-Self-criticism (CSC)** after assessment of work.

SIDEBAR



by Priscilla Guzman

To the revolutionary propagandists, he is among the *Iodis* (“idols”) whom we try to emulate. Antonio “Manong Tony” Zumel was a well-known and respected journalist from the corporate media who rose from the ranks—from gofer to editor to president of the National Press Club. But his journey didn’t stop there, because he took the path to revolution, becoming editor of many revolutionary publications. In later years, while in exile in The Netherlands, he also served as senior adviser to the NDFP peace panel.

Uma Aguani worked with Manong Tony in several underground publications. Manong, she said, was in the original team of *Liberation*. Afterwards he headed the staff of *Balita ng Malayang Pilipinas* (BMP) and *Ang Bayan*. “If I remember right, there was no authorship of articles published in *Ang Bayan* and *Liberation* during the early years of their publication. But later, he would write using the penname Puri Balandó, José Mabalacat, and Manuel Romero. He wrote under these pennames when he was with *Liberation*.”

Liberation shares here the lessons Uma Aguani learned from working with Manong Tony.

Class bias in writing

He often told me that there is no such thing as objective journalism. One writes for the interest of a certain class; that journalists from different sides of the fence interpret the same data based on whose interest they served. That people’s journalists must serve the interest of the masses.

Know your readers, write simply

A quintessential people’s journalist/propagandist, Manong wrote simply. His prose was simple, direct, and clear. He was very mindful of who our readers were. Although his medium was English and he was not well versed in Ilocano and Filipino, he studied the two languages so he could fulfill his task of writing and editing *Dangadang*, the official publication of Ilocos and Cordillera region, and *Ang Bayan*.

Discipline is the key

Manong Tony was very professional. But he was a very strict editor. He hated sloppy writing especially if he knew one could do better but was either just lazy or trying to beat the deadline. He had a disciplined adherence to deadlines and he expected others to have the same. Putting out the publication as scheduled was important for the collective. It also entailed strict adherence to security rules and measures.

Fact-check, spelling check

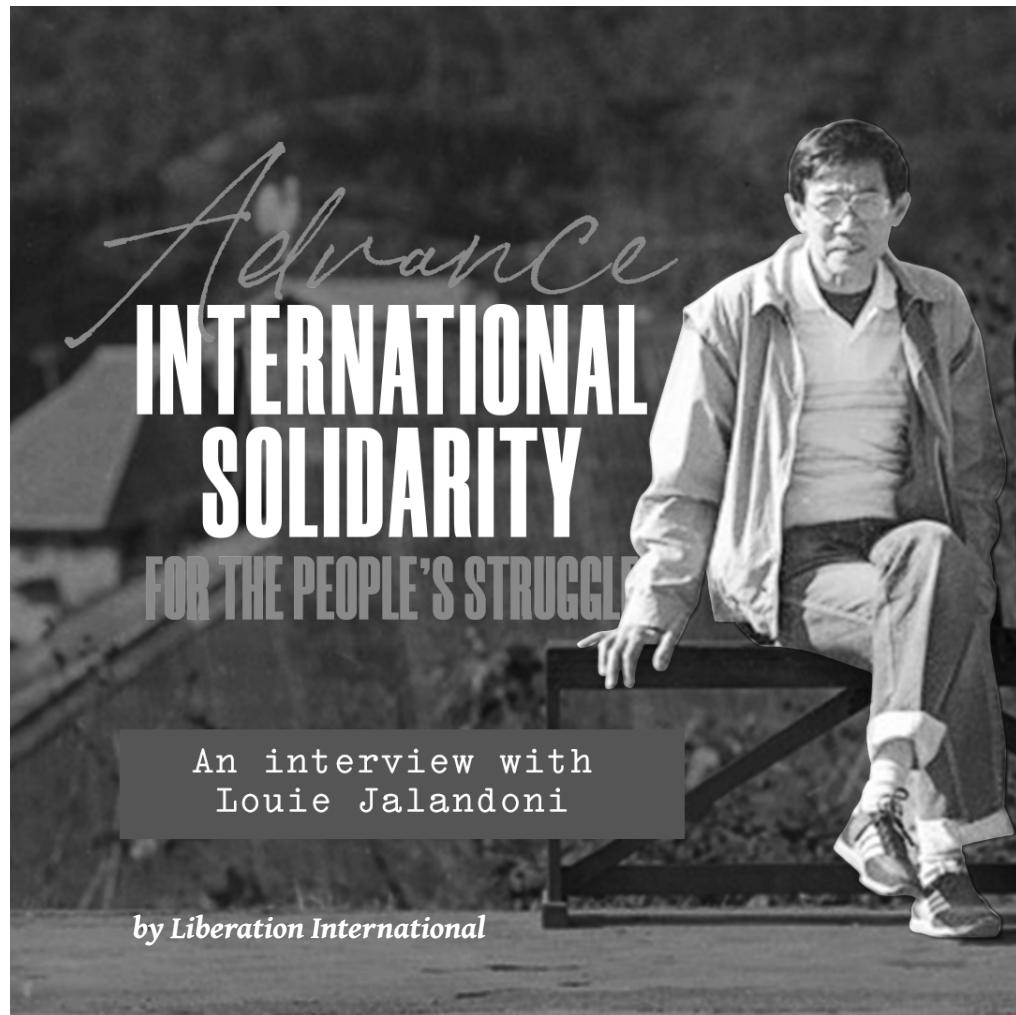
He was very conscientious in his responsibility as head of the team and editor of the publication. He double—(and sometimes) triple—checked the facts and figures of a story.

A publication has its own style (layout, spelling, etc.) He was quite strict when one did not follow or strayed from the official style especially with spelling. There was one instance when a fierce debate between him and a staff member occurred over the correct spelling of “guerrilla.”

Assist comrades in their work

It was a big help that he was very approachable and always gave time for *kasamas*. For new and young propagandists he was keen in teaching and helping them whether in data gathering, drafting their articles, or editing.

To emphasize, we reiterate a crucial lesson Uma learned from Antonio Zumel: *Manong Tony always said we had to come out with our publications even during times of arrests, raids, etc. That we should not let enemy operations interrupt our publications from being printed for the people are waiting to hear news from the countryside, the picket lines, the communities, the victories of the people’s army, and to read poetry. That is why we were very determined to print no matter the situation. And I am proud to say we did it!* 📖



Developing international solidarity relations with all peoples of the world on behalf of the Filipino people is an integral task of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP). The NDFP is cognizant that on the basis of friendship, mutual support, and cooperation,

the Filipino people and other peoples of the world, and their anti-imperialist and democratic organizations and parties, shall pursue a world that is free from imperialist oppression and exploitation.

Liberation International interviewed NDFP Senior Adviser and former Chief Negotiator Louie Jalandoni on the revolutionary movement's international work and its significance on the struggle of the Filipino people for nationalism and democracy.

Before he became chairperson of the NDFP negotiating panel in 1995, he was NDFP vice chairperson for international affairs as early as 1980s. In 1987, he and comrade-wife Coni Ledesma opened the NDFP International Office.

Here are some of Ka Louie's insights on the NDFP's international solidarity work.

Liberation International (LI):

Can you give a short history on the beginnings of the movement's international work?

International work of the revolutionary movement started in the 1960s when an official Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) delegation was sent to China. This was after the victory of the Chinese revolution. The CPP delegation developed links and cooperation with various official delegations of other Communist Parties who were also based in China. Chairman Mao led in providing the most powerful solidarity to the Filipino people's revolutionary struggle. However, this

powerful solidarity started to weaken when the influence of Deng Shao Ping increased and limited significantly the solidarity for the Filipino people.

A *kasama* (comrade) who went to the United States also started organizing Filipinos and building solidarity with the progressive forces in the United States.

In 1977, the movement's international work in Europe started.



“
We recognize and respect their different ideological and political viewpoints and standpoints, just as they too respect ours.
”

Why is international work important in the national democratic struggle?

The fact that US imperialism exploits and oppresses the Filipino people, uses all its military might to attack, and uses feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism to enslave the people, make it important for the Filipino people to win international solidarity for its struggle for liberation. The conditions in the Philippines require that

the Filipino people carry out their revolution in a self-reliant way. But it needs international support to advance and win victory, in so many ways from peoples and movements abroad. This could not be one-sided for Filipinos as it also helps the growth and victory of other revolutionary struggles.

What was the situation when you started international work in Europe? Was the situation favorable then?

When we started in Europe in 1976, there was already a solidarity group in the Netherlands. This was the Filippijnenegroep Nederland (FGN) which started solidarity work in 1975. The group was composed of Dutch persons who had worked in the Philippines as volunteers and missionaries and lived in the Philippines for many years. They became politicalized during their integration with the Filipino masses and wanted to help the resistance against the Marcos dictatorship. For Coni and me, this was a very positive development in carrying out our international work.

The political climate was also very favorable for Europeans to support struggles in different countries.

For example, the victory of the Algerian people against the French was supported by progressives in Europe. An Italian comrade and his wife attended an anti-

imperialist conference in Algiers and through their efforts got the conference to support the Filipino people's struggle, along with the Moro peoples struggle.

Support groups were also active for Vietnam, for Mozambique and Guinea Bissau, who were fighting for their liberation from Portugal.

Algeria then had support from very famous personalities like Lelio Basso, an Italian Senator. Together with other prominent personalities, he founded the Permanent People's Tribunal.

One of our *kasama*, Francis Alessi, worked in the office of Senator Lelio Basso. Through Alessi, the Permanent People's Tribunal (PPT) organized a Session on the Philippines in 1980 that focussed on the concerns of the NDFP and the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF).

What were some of the achievements of our international work?

The holding of the PPT Session on the Philippines was very significant. The Tribunal's jury was composed of 10 prestigious legal experts, headed by 1967 Nobel Prize winner for Physiology, George Wald. The Tribunal's verdict was that the NDFP was the legitimate representative of the Filipino people. It condemned Marcos as unfit to govern, and recognized the status of belligerency of the revolutionary movement of the Filipino people.

After the Tribunal, a Dutch political party (which no longer

exists), the Pacifist Socialist Party, recognized the NDFP and introduced it to Parties they were in contact with, including Pasok, the ruling Party in Greece at that time. As a consequence, Pasok invited the NDFP to its Congress.

More achievements had been gained, including invitations from different political Parties in Europe and other countries. During the tours we would meet and hold discussions with members of different Parliaments.

How about organizing work among our overseas Filipinos? They are very significant. They number some 10-12 million.

They serve as a very important mass base for the revolutionary struggle. With their experience, expertise, and capabilities they can help build a progressive Philippines. They can also win over the masses from different countries who also work or live abroad. Our diaspora can win solidarity from the diaspora of other countries.



How markedly important is work among our compatriots abroad

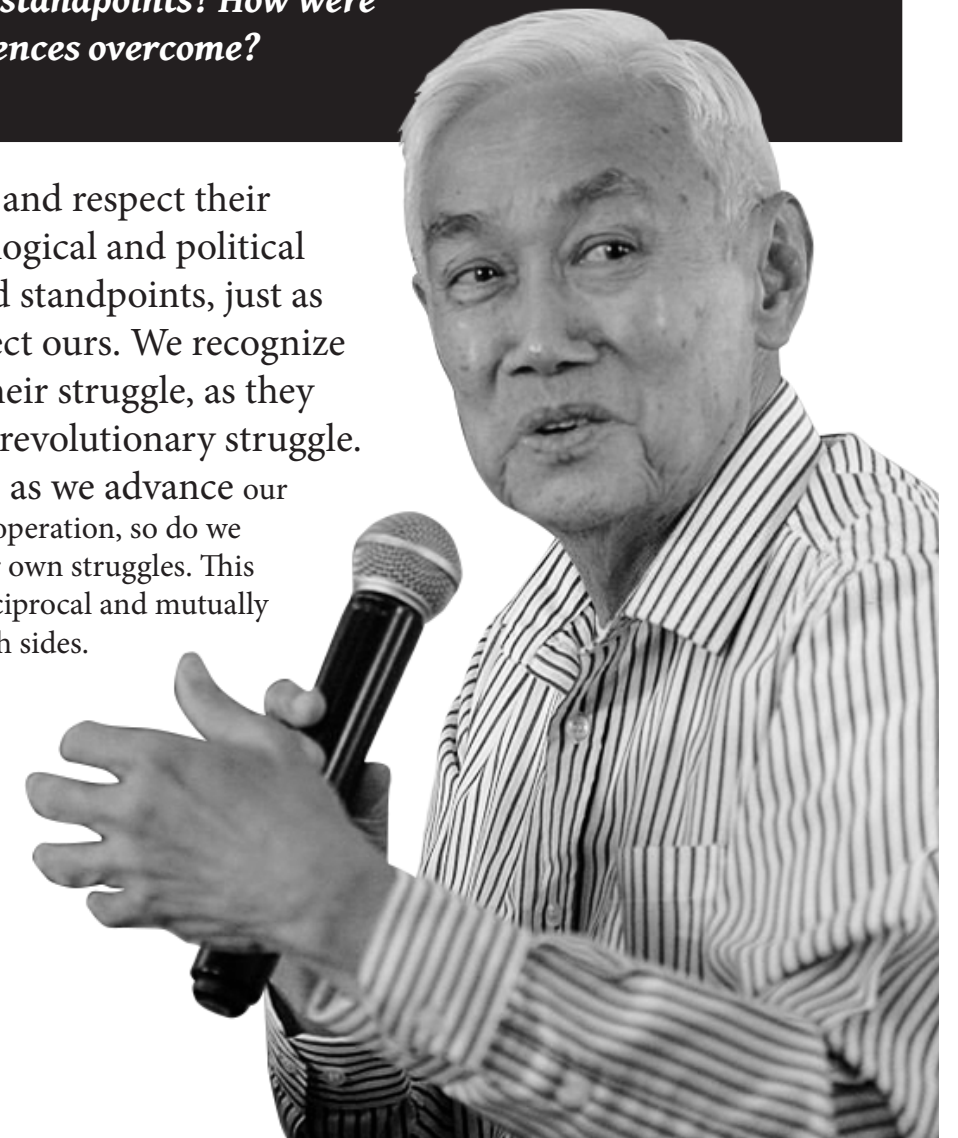
The anti-Marcos Sr. dictatorship solidarity movement in Europe was very strong during that period. Is the solidarity movement for the Philippines at present the same as before? It is even greater now because the Philippine revolutionary movement has grown to more than 70 out of 81 provinces, in 110 guerrilla fronts throughout the country, and a People's Democratic Government at various levels exists in the countryside. Hence there is stronger basis for solidarity work by compatriots abroad with other nationalities.

Does the message of our people's war and our socialist perspective continue to draw the same level of support from our foreign friends?

This depends on our own effective efforts. At this point the basis for expanding and consolidating the level of support from our foreign friends is firmer and stronger. They are very interested in learning more about our revolutionary struggle and joining celebrations of our victories.

How do we relate with parties/organizations/alliances that have different ideological and political viewpoints/standpoints? How were these differences overcome?

We recognize and respect their different ideological and political viewpoints and standpoints, just as they too respect ours. We recognize the value of their struggle, as they too value our revolutionary struggle. In the process as we advance our solidarity and cooperation, so do we both advance our own struggles. This relationship is reciprocal and mutually beneficial for both sides.



THE NDFP



ALLIED ORGANIZATIONS

by Pat Gambao and Priscilla Guzman

Formally launched in 1973 on the initiative of the **Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP)** shortly after its reestablishment in 1968, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) is the most consolidated underground alliance of revolutionary forces under proletarian leadership. The NDFP brought together, as founding members, national democratic organizations that went underground in 1972 when martial law was declared. Some of these are the *Kabataang Makabayan*, Christians for National Liberation and the *Pambansang Katipunan ng mga Magsasaka* (PKM, Federation of Peasants).



LIBERATION

Today, the NDFP has gathered 18 revolutionary organizations—cutting across all patriotic classes—even as it continues to draw support and new allies to advance the national democratic revolution and fulfil the Filipino people’s desire for national and social liberation embodied in the CPP’s Program for a People’s Democratic Revolution and the NDFP’s 12-Point Program.



Standing on the basic alliance of workers and peasants—as embodied on the CPP’s absolute leadership of the **New People’s Army (NPA)**—the NDFP is tasked with developing the revolutionary mass movement in the countryside and in the cities to rally political and material support for the armed struggle being waged by the NPA. Throughout its 50 years, the NDFP allied organizations have deployed Red fighters to the NPA; and not a few of them became commanders.



The NPA is the mass organization to carry out the revolutionary armed struggle, the main form of the people’s struggle. Along with it, the NPA is also tasked to implement and advance agrarian revolution and mass base building towards establishing organs of political power.



Working closely with the NPA is the **Pambansang Katipunan ng Magbubukid (PKM)**, a mass organization of peasants; a deep source of Red commanders and fighters of the NPA. Being the majority class in Philippine society, the peasantry is considered as the main force and the most reliable ally of the proletariat in waging the national democratic revolution (NDR). With the NPA, the PKM have achieved significant victories in agrarian revolution, the main content of the NDR.

Aside from the CPP exercising proletarian leadership in the NDFP, two other revolutionary mass organizations of workers—the **Revolutionary Council of Trade Unions (RCTU)** and semi-workers, the **Katipunan ng mga Samahang Manggagawa (KASAMA)**—are affiliated with it.



Both RCTU and KASAMA are the wellspring of Party cadres and Red fighters. These organizations ensure the conscientization and advance of the workers movement at the factory or community level through organizing and union building, political education, assertion of their rights, immersion with the masses

in the countryside and enhancing solidarity work with progressive workers union abroad.



Patriotic Filipino overseas workers (and their families in the Philippines) are organized into the **Compatriots** to play the crucial part in advancing the Philippine revolution from where they are all over the globe. Aside from

organizing more Filipino workers, they gather support from friendly foreign nationals, both material and political, in support of the armed revolution. Compatriots is the latest addition to the NDFP.

In the countryside, the NPA also organizes the peasantry through the revolutionary organizations of women (**Makabayang Kilusan ng Bagong Kababaihan, MAKIBAKA**)



and youth (**Kabataang Makabayan, KM**). All in all, these organizations pave the way and ensure that organs of political power are built from the village level upwards.



Additionally, in the villages where there are indigenous peoples and Bangsa Moro, revolutionary organizations such as the **Cordillera People's Democratic Front (CPDF)**, **Moro Resistance Liberation Organization (MRLO)**, and **Revolutionary Organization of Lumad (RoL)** are established to ensure that their rights to self-determination and ancestral land are duly recognized, articulated, and fought for.



Although the indigenous peoples and the Bangsa Moro as a social group are part of the classes in Philippine society like the youth, women, and fisherfolk, the revolutionary movement ensures that the particularity of their conditions are given due attention.

Various underground organizations of among the petty-bourgeoisie are also part of the NDFP. With the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry as a stable foundation, the middle forces—student youth, teachers, low-income professionals and intellectuals—are drawn into the NDFP, both in the cities and in the countryside.

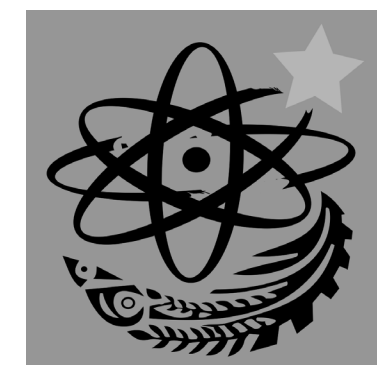
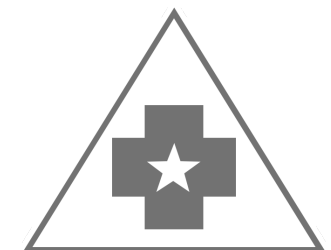
While Kabataang Makabayan plays a vital role in organizing the

youth from the working class and the peasantry, it is also tasked to reach out to the student-youth.

The student-youth comprise the majority of the urban petty bourgeoisie along with the low-income professionals and intellectuals, and teachers. They are among the sectors of the petty bourgeoisie who are decisive in shaping favorable public opinion for the Philippine revolution in the whole country. They are the vanguards of cultural revolution and articulators of revolutionary propaganda.

The people's democratic revolution cannot advance without the participation of revolutionary intellectuals.

Thus, aside from KM, organizations such as the **Katipunan ng mga Gurong Makabayan (KAGUMA, KGM)** composed of teachers-educators; **Artista at Manunulat para sa Sambayanan (ARMAS)** an organization of artists, cultural workers and media workers; **Christians for National Liberation (CNL)** of the religious sector of various denominations and congregations and church workers; **Makabayang Samahang Pangkalusugan (MASAPA, MSP)** among health practitioners and health workers and medical students; and **Liga ng Agham para sa Bayan (LAB)** of scientists and technologists can be counted as among most active articulators of a nationalist, scientific and mass-oriented culture and, more importantly, the national democratic aspirations of the people.



Also by mobilizing their members, these organizations work with the Party, the NPA, and other allied organizations in the guerrilla fronts like the PKM to provide and train the NPA and the masses literacy and numeracy as in the case of KAGUMA; health services, education and trainings on basic health care, sanitation, alternative medicine and medical procedure such

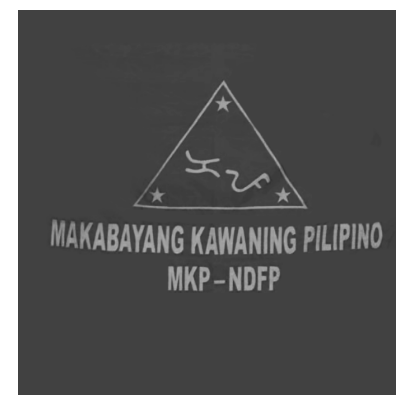
as surgery by MASAPA; workshops on various fields of arts and literature by ARMAS. LAB provides science and technology education and training and technology-related projects to respond to the needs of the communities and of the NPA in the conduct of the armed struggle. Most, if not all, of these organizations are founding members of the NDFP.

LUMABAN

Lupon ng mga Manananggol para sa Bayan

In the 90s onwards, revolutionary organizations such as the *Makabayang Kawaning Pilipino (MKP)*, an underground organization of public service sector employees, workers and middle management in the public service sector and the *Lupon ng mga Manananggol para sa Bayan (LUMABAN)* of lawyers and law practitioners and students have affiliated with the NDFP.

MKP repudiates the debased bureaucracy dominated by the ruling- class-stooge of US imperialism while LUMABAN is determined to upend the rotten judicial system, the instrument for coercion and repression of the ruling class to perpetuate its power.



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The workers and peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie allied with the NDFP, the basic force of the revolution, have contributed not only knowledge, talent, skills, and resources to the revolution but also brawn and valor by actively participating in the armed struggle.



VIVA SINGKWENTA

ORIHINAL NA AWIT MULA SA **ARMAS**

I.
Hakbang-hakbang sa
paglakbay
ang masa't pag-aaral
dakilang gabay
sama-samang lagpasan
mga hamon
padayon sa rebolusyon!

II.
Libu-libo man mga kaaway
Huwag matakot lumaban
hanggang tagumpay
Laksa-laksang tumitindig
magwawagi, di padadaig!

REFRAIN:

Ilang dekada mang dumating
liwanag mo'y magniningning
sa puso ng masa nagliliyab
apoy ng digmali

KORO:

VIVA NDFP! sa buong
kapuluan
VIVA NDFP! ginintuang
kasaysayan
VIVA NDFP! sa tagumpay ng
digmang bayan
Viva, mapagpalaya!
Viva, Singkwenta!

III.
Halina magbigay-pugay
Bandila ng CPP, i-wagayway
(viva!)
RCTU,PKM,NPA
KM, KAGUMA,
MAKIBAKA (viva!)

IV.

CNL, ROL, MASAPA
MRLO,MKP, KSM (viva!)
COMPATRIOTS, LAB,
ARMAS
CPDF, LUMABAN! (viva!)

Repeat Refrain

Repeat Chorus

Mga Martyr at bayani ng
bayan
Viva! Sambayang lumalaban
Viva! Pambansang
demokrasya
Viva! paglaya ng bayan
Viva! Demokratikong
Rebolusyon ng bayan
Viva! Hanggang sa
Tagumpay
Viva! Ndfp
Viva! Singkwenta
Viva!

PAANO PUMATAY NG KOMUNISTA

ni **Silang**

Una, alisin ang ambag nila sa kasaysayan.
Alisin sila sa hukbalahap
Alisin sila sa pakikipaglaban sa dayuhan
Alisin sila sa pakikipaglaban sa diktadura
Alisin sila sa pakikipaglaban para sa demokrasya
Alisin ang inalay na buhay, panahon at talino

Pangalawa, balewalain ang kanilang ambag
Balewalain ang ambag nila sa literatura
Balewalain ang ambag nika sa siyensya
Balewalain ang ambag nila sa panlipunan pagbabago
Balewalain ang mga ambag na buhay, panahon at talino.

Pangatlo, paratangan silang terorista
Paratangan silang mamamatay tao
Paratangan silang tagahasik ng lagim
Paratangan silang mga walang kwentang tao
Paratangan, hanggang mawalan ng karapatang
magkaroon ng talino, panahon at buhay

At kapag inalis, binalewala at
naparatangan na sila, pwede na silang
hulihin, mawala, ikulong at patayin.
Kahit wala silang kasalanan.

Feb13



LIBERATION